1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

776 clouds, water, earth, and animals. Although these bosses are often referred to in anthropomorphic terms, there is evidence that the executory forces behind the natural phenomena are not always so understood. The second supernatural order is reserved for an anthropomorphically conceived Supreme Being, an aspect of religious thinking that was probably strengthened following white contact. The final order of the supernatural includes the devil.

Of the nature bosses, our data permit discussion only of the executive agency operating behind the animal world. Although there seems to be no clear idea as to whether the real animals encountered in the forest are individually capable of knowing the intentions of men, or whether it is a superior intelligence behind the fauna which has this ability and operates through the creatures, the latter reading seems best to fit the facts. This, however, is only one of several possible interpretations. A better deduction (for which there is no clear evidence) might be to regard the spiritual components of the real animals as mystically identical with the total supernatural realm in whose intelligence man and the various species participate. We will assume that it is the supernatural animal realm which possesses final intelligence and power and which, somehow manifesting itself through the forms of real animals, bestows supernatural power on men. This intelligence is also capable of frustrating the efforts of a trapper, who desires fur "too much," by keeping the animals away from that person's traps.

776 The relationship of the Supreme Being to the nature bosses was never expressed and
177 probably has never been speculated upon. From statements of informants it is possible to see this Being as superior to the lesser supernatural agencies and as a kind of final and creative authority. The Supreme Being is identified as God or Jesus. As is indicated in Nitla's statement that Jesus is "head man" and "boss of this ground," Jesus and God are sometimes thought of as one; at other times, however, Jesus is referred to as the son of God. Nitla spoke of Jesus having been killed by hostile soldiers who were instigated to their deed by a wealthy but evil king. By His death Jesus made a trail upon which the people could reach heaven. Prior to His killing, people could not achieve heaven but had to "stop this side." The Supreme Being resides in heaven and is the final judge of the actions of men.

776 The conception of the devil was not much better elaborated. In general he seems to be the boss of evil, operating through people who are hereditarily or wilfully disposed to follow his influence. The devil is also capable of controlling the actions of certain animals which he apparently created, such as the grizzly bear. By instigating the grizzly to kill men, the devil can claim the spirits of the animal's victims.

Mythologically there is a fourth realm of supernaturals, mainly cannibalistic monsters, like the giant frog, jackfish, and elephant, which formerly menaced people and are still occasionally feared, perhaps because of their association with the devil. A few people spoke of these creatures with manifest emotion and sincerity. Two persons, Old Kaax and his grandson, twelve year old Jack, identified a number of the Rorschach inkblots as such mythological monsters.

778 Both people and animals (who, a long time ago, were also people) may sometimes
776 possess supernaturally derived power. The acquisition of such power by individuals is no longer of great social importance, but few individuals were willing to discuss the concept frankly. When intoxicated, however, several young men were reported to have announced

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their possession of power, tracing it to the agency of animals. As near as could be learned, power (which is sometimes called "medicine") denotes that the person is under the protection of an animal supernatural on whose assistance he can rely. Any animal or game bird can bestow such benefits on an individual, who may solicit their interest by isolating himself in the bush. Apparently, however, purposeful isolation is not essential in order to obtain supernatural help, a person sometimes receiving an indication of such attention without any effort on his part. The acquisition of power is signalled by a vision or, perhaps, a dream in which an animal manifesting human attributes speaks to the individual. Sometimes a vision is not readily forthcoming even when solicited and was in fact denied to Nitla who said: "Some people go stay in brush alone. Got medicine. I can't make it, me. I'm too young. I'm just try first time. Nothing see me . . . Something don't want me." He was not disturbed on account of this lack of success. 778 776

A different type of supernatural power, one that is more readily talked about, promotes aid and protection. This may be acquired through possession of religious symbols like crucifixes, prayer books, and rosaries. Many people carry such objects on their persons whenever they leave camp. Once Nitla said that he would request the "mission man to give cross for me and wife. Grizly bear can't bother that one. Somebody say that way. I believe him." Lowering his voice the informant added that a crucifix would also keep a seducer away from a man's wife. It would protect both the husband and woman from sexual aggression. A few weeks later Nitla was seen wearing a rosary around his neck. Small gospels distributed by the priest are also carefully kept. Paulette Donnelly embroidered a moosehide "Bible case" to contain one of these slim volumes. 777

Occasionally occurrences are interpreted as resulting from a favorable disposition on the part of the supernatural environment. Thus a man may ascribe his luck in killing a moose to the fact that he has had the cooperation of the animal realm. Many more times, however, references to luck are simply offhand mentions of a fate whose character the individual is not troubled to analyze.

Two states of existence are possible for the spirit in the afterlife. For those whose lives were free from evil there is heaven and everlasting happiness; for the evil there is hell. Just as heaven is identified with God, hell is associated with the devil. This correlation of an afterlife with the morality of the spirit's earthly career is not perfect, however, since, regardless of his conduct, any person killed by a grizzly bear must go to the bear's "daddy" —the devil. Although hell is recognized as an unpleasant place, few people admitted any realistic fear of it. 775

The idea of praying for the welfare of the dead is known to some informants as a result of church attendance. This suggests the beginnings of belief in a third, temporary state of spiritual existence—purgatory. 775 766 177

Alongside the idea of spiritual immortality remains a belief in reincarnation, the rebirth of the spirit in a child who, as he grows older, recognizes the world as a place where he has already been. One or two children were mentioned who had revealed this *déjà vue* experience. 775

Several forms of divination are practiced more or less actively by a few Indians. Sometimes the leaves in a tea cup are inspected in order to forecast the results of a prospective 787

846 778 Often a little circular bag of leather was made and the wrapped navel string sewed to the edges, the sack being made to fit the diameter of the string. The parents enclosed in the sack some feathers, down, etc of birds etc., and then sewed up the aperture. Some of these things were emblematic of what they desired as manitous for the child. Some were emblems of their own manitous and some were charms to ensure protection during childhood and success in hunting etc., when the child became an adult.(see National Museum Specimen No. 45.)

846 No gum or particular medicine was put on the child's navel to make it heal. It was merely powdered with charcoal. Charcoal powder was also used on all parts of infants where chafing might occur such as in the armpits, around the neck, etc.

845 Twins Twins were occasional, but there are no cases in memory of triplets having been born. There were no beliefs regarding twins similar to those held by the Thompson and other tribes to the south, and no special ceremonies in connection with the birth and rearing of twins. Neither were twins supposed to have any special powers of any kind. In fact twins were considered rather unlucky and some considered them not as strong as other children. It was thought they were more liable to die young than other children. Also if one died the

301 the fringes strung with beads and dentalia, etc. The ends of the fringes had pendants of claws, tufts of died wool, etc. Later many of these collars were covered with red or blue cloth and ornamented with pearl and metal buttons and tufts of colored yarn. Some wealthy girls had long fringes on their collars. They were completely hung with dentalia. (For specimens of richly ornamented collars with frame of rods, see Emmons Plate VIII C. & F.) Other collars or necklaces had no framework of rods; they consisted of strips of skin richly embroidered and hung with fringes of dentalia, etc. (See Emmons Plate VIII G.) Some resembled a belt and consisted of strips of skin entirely covered with dentalium shells (see Emmons Plate VIII A); still other necklaces of skin more or less ornamented with embroidery and fringes and having pendants of stone were also commonly used. These stones were natural forms of odd shapes, many of them crescent-shaped. [777 778] Some of them were charm stones or lucky stones retained in families. (Stone weights on hair ornaments were also sometimes of this character). However it is said the main object of wearing stone pendants with young women's necklaces was to make the girl heavy or slow to do wrong make mistakes, run after men, etc., wise and heavy instead of hasty, light headed or giddy. (For specimens of women's necklaces with stone pendants see National

After obtaining manitous they solicited them specially. Some lads developed or obtained a good deal of knowledge during their training; some developed shamanistic knowledge and became nearly as knowing as some shamans. Some obtained the knowledge of seeing things which were distant, and could tell what had happened to things stolen or lost and where these things were. They could also tell what people were doing, although these people were absent and far away. Some others seem to have obtained knowledge of doing certain things more by practice in the doing of these things than by any knowledge directly imparted by their manitous. However, in cases like these, it was supposed (at least by some) the powers of their manitous really helped them secretly to achieve success in their undertakings. Some lads who desired to be lucky hunters practised the "cutting of tongues", like some who desired to be shamans (see under shamans)[a]. However most lads desiring to be good hunters prayed to become such and practised the real hunting of game. Those desiring to be good gamblers prayed to be such and at the same time practised the games of chance so as to become adept at them. Several kinds of roots were considered to be good charms for obtaining luck in games. Lads dug up different kinds

[a] Editor's note: /The section on shamans is not included in this typescript; apparently the writing was never completed./

778 of roots and tested them as charms. Those they had no
881 luck with they discarded, whilst perhaps one or two
787 they adopted as charms because they found, whenever
424 they used them, they had luck in playing. A charm
good for one individual might be no good for another
and vice versa. Some lads who desired to be good
881 warriors prayed to be such and practised mimic warfare.
778 They also looked for charms or something which would
lend them power and help them to win. At last they
would light on something which would be of value.
Eagle feathers gave the winning power to many and there-
fore a number of men when going to battle wore eagle
881 feathers. Lads desiring to be shamans practised curing
756 of the sick. They had more to learn than others, for
to become a strong shaman required much knowledge and
generally this could not be obtained excepting by long
and hard training. (For some practices of lads learning
881 to be shamans, see under shamans) Having obtained a
778 manitou, the lad later hunted the animal or bird repre-
787 sentation of his manitou. Having killed one he kept
the skin. It seems by a person keeping the skin near
him or in his possession there was created a greater
bond between the man and his manitou and the latter
exercised a kind of guardian influence on the former.
881 No shooting, running, jumping and other similar cere-
monies such as practised by adolescent youths of the

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Tsetena
Frances Lake

and food but they do not seem to have possessed the same dangerous potency as the mink, for example. The informant denied any general avoidance of the otter. Rather some people paid more regard to him than others. Clarification of this statement could not be secured. Perhaps a man who enjoyed otter power felt less fear for that animal. Following their introduction in numbers, dogs came to eat the meat of any animal but not the leg tendons or intestines of the moose. Avoidance of these foods preserved the dog's endurance.

A young man observed a number of food avoidances designed to develop capacities for hunting. He drank water lightly, since many animals disliked water. Avoidance of the beverage magically helped a man to obtain greater power over game. He also ate sparingly of leg tendons, moose intestines, and moose brains lest his quickness and resistance to fatigue become impaired. The successful tracking of large game depended on speed. No grease taboos were known. Except during menstruation when a woman avoided fresh meat, women ate the same foods eaten by men. Avoidances designed to develop hunting power did not apply to women. As the informant explained, "Game don't want him, that woman." Dream animals played no part in the diet, not being eaten in whole or part. Some shamans never ate porcupine or beaver and others rejected the head of moose. These observances would seem to be auxiliary to the taboo on the meat of the animal sponsor or may represent a partial contradiction of that statement. Cohabitation taboos prior to hunting were denied.

Frances Lake Kaska. Attitudes toward the otter are described by Pike.[a]

A curious superstition prevails that if you kill an otter it is capable of causing much trouble by coming to life again in your stomach. Only three winters ago a Francis Lake woman lay at death's door with this malady, but she was saved by the timely arrival of the only medicine man left in the tribe. He seems to have diagnosed the case correctly at once, and holding a sheep's horn spoon to the patient's mouth, he proceeded to repeat a long incantation suitable to the occasion. As soon as he had finished, to the great joy of all the relatives who had gathered to see the death, three little otters dropped out into the spoon. The old lady recovered rapidly, and afterwards confessed to having stolen and eaten an otter that she had found in somebody else's beaver trap during a long period of starvation in the early summer.

Hunting rites included depositing an unidentified "medicine" on a moose track, either to attract the animal back to that spot or to make him more vulnerable to the hunter's arrow. After spreading other substances around a beaver house the hunter would sit down to await the appearance of the game. Scapulimancy could not be recalled. The wearing of animal figurines cut from bone insured success in hunting.

Sucking provided the commonest means of curing but other conceptions of illness coexisted with the notion of intrusion that sucking suggests. A young man carefully

[a] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 145. Field reports that "The Pelly and Little Salmon believe that very near all sickness comes from the otter and mink and if anybody kills one, they or some of their near relatives will get sick and die. If any should happen to kill an otter or mink and skin it, he generally will use some old knife and throw the knife away when he is finished. He believes by doing this he guards against getting sick as the sickness is in the knife. Also if you touch or kill a frog your limbs will lose their strength, and you will get poor. Your flesh will gradually waste away till you die." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1918), 6.